

OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY ACTION

PDDYNAMIC

TYPE OF ACTION	F1/C	X	CA	OTHER
NEW OPACT APPROVAL	DIVISION Soviet/East European		OBJECTIVE A.2.	
AMENDMENT NO.	FIELD STATION		TARGET COUNTRY USSR	
X RENEWAL FY 19 77	BRANCH SE/SAG		DESK CA	
EXTENSION	CASE OFF OFF		DATE 19 July 76	
TERMINATION	ROOM NO. 3D0119	BUILDING HQS	TELL 1073	RED 6118 BLACK
INTENDED SOLELY FOR COLLECTION PER SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT		X	NOT INTENDED SOLELY FOR COLLECTION PER SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT	

NOTE: ATTACH COPY OF DCI CERTIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE WITH SEC 662 OF FOR. ASSIST. ACT WHERE ACTIVITY IS NOT INTENDED FOR COLLECTION

CONCURRENCES OF DIVISIONS

ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT	TYPED NAME (and Signature)	DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/SE/SAG			3 Aug 1976		✓
C/SE/BF		4 Aug 76	5 Aug 76		
C/SE/OSG Plans Officer		6 Aug	6 Aug 76		✓
DC/SE		10 Aug	10 Aug		
C/SE		11 August			

CONCURRENCES OF OTHER COMPONENTS

(Type in Organizational Element and Name Below Only when Concurrence Obtained by Originating Element.)		DATE		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/CAG/SA		12 AUG 1976	16 AUG 1976	✓	
C/CCS/PRG	(Signed)	17 Aug 76	23 Aug 76		X
C/EPS/EG					✓
EPS/COMPT			15 Nov 76		✓
C/EPS			13 NOV 1976		

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

APPROVAL

PERIOD	AMT THIS ACTION	FY	TOTAL FUNDS AUTHORIZATION
FROM 1 Oct 76 TO 30 Sept 77	\$	19 77	\$
	\$	19	\$
APPROVING AUTHORITY (Title & Signature) ADDO	FOR DDO USE ONLY		DATE
	EXEMPT FROM P/S REVIEW	COMPARTMENTED P/S REVIEW	24/11/76

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76-8886

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations
FROM : []
Chief, Evaluation and Program Staff
SUBJECT : Request for Renewal of SE Division's CA Program

1. Action Requested: Your approval of the FY 1977 request for renewal of the SE Division's CA Program, consisting of eight operational activities, is requested.

2. Background: The proposed budget of the SE Division CA Program for FY 1977 is \$ [] . The major part of the budget is for the distribution of books, periodicals and other material to Soviets and East Europeans both in their own countries and abroad. The program also includes a modest publishing capability in order to make available for distribution works not otherwise published and available. Interrelated assets within the program provide a capability to publicize the repression of dissidence and abuses of human rights in the USSR. The thrust of the program is to advocate evolution rather than revolution in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It relies heavily on private and commercially available books and materials. It incorporates means of measuring, to the extent possible, the effectiveness of the distribution channels used and the relevance of the works distributed.

3. The program was approved by the Operations Advisory Group on 20 May 1976. At that OAG meeting, a Department of State representative suggested that the funds allocated in the program to activities in the field of human rights might better be re-allocated to the book distribution activity. After further discussion during the summer with SE Division representatives, the State Department indicated its intent to withdraw its reservation on this issue. A copy of a memorandum of 7 September 1976 from the DCI to the Chairman of the OAG on this point is attached. (Attachment A)

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4. SE Division's CA Program has been under scrutiny in recent years in regard to its cost, its effectiveness, and its responsiveness to U.S. policy interests. As a result of this scrutiny, the overall program was reduced from \$[] to \$[] between FY 1974 and FY 1976, a decrease of 33 percent. The cut was made primarily in the book distribution program, where the budget was reduced from \$[] to \$[] and the number of proprietary employees was reduced from 58 to 29. The reduction in service was almost entirely in the distribution of books to Eastern Europe rather than to the USSR.

5. This CA Program supports U.S. policy by increasing pressure on the leadership of the USSR to moderate its policies. It focuses attention on the differences between Soviet official rhetoric and Soviet practices. The program not only reaches the Soviet and East European internal audience, but also serves as a backdrop to the implementation of selective actions to contain Soviet influence in other areas in the world of significance to U.S. national interests. In another sense, by encouraging critical examination of Soviet policies and practices, the program fosters attitudes among some Soviets and East Europeans which improves the climate for the operational development of potential Soviet and East European recruitment targets.

6. All of these purposes, in the view of this Staff, require that we maintain an active and dynamic CA Program against the Soviet and East European target. While current funding of the program provides the minimum infrastructure necessary to implement the current activity, inflationary trends threaten in time to hamper even the maintenance of this essential infrastructure. Perhaps more significantly, however, the current funding stands in the way of new approaches to the target and the development of new programming to reach elite groups which are becoming increasingly concerned with developments in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

7. In approving the renewal of the SE Division CA Program last year, the ADDO requested that, in future presentations, SE Division show the interrelationship of the eight activities comprising the program. The attached memorandum from Chief, SE responds to that request, succinctly describing the program and showing in an accompanying chart the cost of each activity and its target. (Attachment B) The Evaluation and Program Staff shares the concern expressed by Chief, SE in that memorandum over the effect of inflationary pressures which are already apparent in the program.

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8. Specific comments and recommendations of this Staff are attached to each of the eight renewal actions in the attached SE Division CA Program submission.

9. You should be aware that the funding levels of these, as well as other covert action OPACTS are now controlled by the Comptroller. The funds requested for the attached activities have been approved by the Comptroller during the recent Agency program review. Any change in these funding levels will require his approval before being implemented.

Attachments:
As Stated

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

DD/O 176-6347

Executive Registry
176-9058

7 SEP 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Brent Scowcroft
Chairman, Operations Advisory Group

FROM : George Bush
Director

SUBJECT : Covert Action Activities Against the
Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

1. During a meeting on 20 May 1976 the Operations Advisory Group reviewed the CIA Status Report on Covert Action activities against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. At that time a Department of State representative suggested that funds allocated to continue Agency Covert Action activities in the field of human rights (focused on exposing Soviet violations of human rights) might better be re-allocated to augment the book distribution activities described in the same report.

2. Subsequent to this meeting, representatives of the Agency have met with State Department officials to further clarify the reservations expressed at the 20 May meeting. During these follow-up discussions, a review with Department of State representatives of Agency activities supporting human rights has resulted in a re-examination of all such activities to eliminate those which, if exposed, appear to hold any significant possibility for compromise to the dissenters who remain in the USSR or those which have any chance of carrying on spontaneously without Agency involvement or support. In response to this review and specific State Department recommendations, several modifications have been made and in some cases a decision has been reached to disengage Agency assets or support.

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SCHEDULE OF E. O. 11652 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5B(2).
IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE DATE OF AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION.

3. Also addressed was the question of increasing the subsidy to the [] a Russian emigre organization, for the publication and distribution to Soviet citizens of Russian language material not otherwise available to them. The Department of State found no objection to an increase of \$ [] for this purpose. Concern about the support to a Ukrainian emigre organization was dispelled with the clarification that the group is focused on the common plight of all nationalities in the Soviet Union under the communist regime and does not represent an anti-Russian separatist movement.

4. The resulting accommodation does not significantly alter Agency objectives or activities in these areas as outlined in the original report. The Department of State has expressed agreement with the content of this memorandum and has indicated its intent to withdraw its reservations on these issues.

Ls/ George Bush

George Bush

CONCUR:

/s/ []

Chief, Soviet/East European Division

/s/ []

Chief, Covert Action Group, Services Staff

Deputy Director for Operations

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22 SEP 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Plans Staff

FROM : []
Acting Chief
Soviet/East European Division

SUBJECT : Introduction to SE Division's
Covert Action Activities Against
the Soviet Union and East Europe

1. The eight activities comprising the SE Division's covert action program against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe are responsive to OD Objectives A.2. and C.2.: A.2. directs the Division to develop and maintain the capability to "influence Soviet attitudes and actions to . . . moderate and liberalize the internal and foreign policies of the Soviet Government." OD Objective C.2.a. applies this "moderation and liberalization" clause to the East European communist regimes while C.2.b. calls for the promotion of "greater economic, political and ideological independence of East Europe from the USSR." These eight activities complement broader U.S. overt programs in support of national foreign policy objectives such as broadcasts by Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe and the educational, cultural, technical and scientific exchange programs with the USSR and East Europe. All activities described in the attached papers were approved in essentially the same form and amounts by the Operations Advisory Group on 20 May 1976.

2. Broadly speaking, these eight covert action activities viewed collectively comprise three elements:

A. Distributing inside the target countries the materials mentioned in B below is one of our most important concerns. This includes, among other items, the better writings of those dissidents or others inside who foster moderation in their own country.

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B. Selecting and insuring publication of relevant books and other materials which will advance the cause of those individuals inside who are striving for change within their system. Our concern is to publish in the target language proscribed books that otherwise might not be commercially viable, but which are significant because of the author or the content of the book. In addition to offering alternative ideas, such publication also provides further moral support and incentive to the inside writer to continue writing. This also has prompted others inside to enter into the discussion, thus encouraging the spread of critical thought.

C. Exposing to the West the true conditions inside the Soviet Union and East Europe in an effort to bring pressure on the regime to change its image by modifying its internal policies. Not only does this incite protest in the West but it also provides moral support for those persecuted dissidents still inside. It is clear that all three elements--publication, distribution, and exposure of realities of Soviet life--are closely related and in many respects complement one another.

3. The major effort, for which over half of our entire budget is devoted, goes toward the first item--distribution. This distribution is accomplished chiefly by direct "hand-outs" both in the West and inside the target countries.* Mailing operations account for approximately 20%-30% of the overall distribution. The second largest segment of our budget, accounting for approximately 30%-40%, goes toward the selection, editing, and publication of samizdat and other relevant materials in Russian and other East European languages (Item B, above). Finally, approximately 10% of our budget goes to support activities designed to expose and publicize Soviet violations of human rights (Item C, above). In terms of targeting, approximately 75% of our entire budget goes to support activities directed against the Soviet Union; the remaining 25% is directed against the East European regimes, primarily in Poland and Czechoslovakia. (See attachment.)

*During FY 76 over 314,000 items were distributed to target audiences in their own languages (primarily Russian). Of this number, approximately 226,000 were distributed person-to-person--either to diplomats, functionaries, or travelers to the West, or smuggled into the target country for distribution inside. Books accounted for well over half of the distributed items; journals, periodicals and a Russian-language weekly newspaper accounted for the remainder.

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4. Numerous well-known persons, organizations, as well as some governments are involved in areas where we are active. Most interest of this kind is narrowly focused and limited to certain individuals or ethnic or religious causes. No single individual or organization, however, has yet demonstrated the capability or broad concern needed to coordinate the overall effort to expose the continuing violations of human rights occurring in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This kind of concern and coordination is necessary if pressure for moderation is to be maintained on these regimes. Similarly, no private individual or organization has been able to sustain the financial and organizational responsibilities needed to print and distribute in these communist countries the information, ideas, and alternate policies that the U.S. Government can through SE Division's covert action activities.

5. In FY 76, \$ [] was required to conduct these activities. This same amount is being requested for FY 77 with only modest modifications in the scope and intensity of these activities. However, increasing costs, especially in publishing, will cause overall declines in distribution to Soviets if a straight line budget is maintained. Therefore, it may be necessary in the future to request increased funds for certain activities simply in order to maintain the current level of activity.

6. The attached chart shows the allocation of effort and funds devoted to the Soviet and East European targets.

Chart attachment herewith. []

APPROXIMATE % OF FUNDS AND ENERGY DEVOTED TO TARGET

ACTIVITY	FY 77 BUDGET	USSR	EAST EUROPEAN
()	\$ ()	60%	40% (mainly Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania & Yugoslavia)
()	\$ ()	95%	5%
()	\$ ()	65%	35% (mainly Poland)
PDDYNAMIC (Prolog Research Corporation) (Suchasnist)	\$ ()	90% (mainly to the Soviet Ukraine)	10% (mainly Poland and Czechoslovakia)
()	\$ ()	90%	10%
()	\$ ()	5%	95% (mainly Czechoslovakia)
()	\$ ()	5%	95% (mainly Poland)
()	\$ ()	90%	10%
Proposed Activities	\$ ()		
TOTAL	\$ ()		

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18 NOV 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations

FROM : []
Chief, Evaluation and Program Staff

SUBJECT : FY 1977 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

1. Action Requested: This Staff recommends approval of the SE Division request for renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC for FY 1977 in the amount of \$[] . [] .

2. Background: Activity PDDYNAMIC supports Prolog Research Corporation in New York, the publishing and distribution element of the Ukrainian Liberation Council. Through the acquisition of material from dissident writers in the Soviet Union and the publication and clandestine reintroduction of such material into the Ukraine, this Activity seeks to exert pressure for greater national and intellectual freedom in the USSR. The Agency's support for this effort, which is the only current operation directed exclusively at the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union, dates back to 1950.

3. Prolog publishes a monthly magazine and books for distribution to travelers and official Soviets abroad, and for clandestine introduction into the USSR. The volume of material produced and distributed in FY 1976 compares favorably with previous years.

4. As noted in the SE Division renewal request, Attachment B to that request is a review of this activity covering the past six years, prepared by the PDDYNAMIC case officer. The review contains additional detail on the progress, and the effectiveness, of the Activity.

5. In the FY 1977 budget of PDDYNAMIC, personnel and administrative expenses amount to \$[] and operating expenses total \$[] . In addition to our subsidy of \$[] , the activity will have income of \$[] from sales of books and subscriptions. SE Division's Operational Program for FY 1977 provides \$[] for PDDYNAMIC.

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6. In the fact of continuing inflation, it will be difficult to maintain the current level of activity without an increase in the PDDYNAMIC budget. As SE Division notes in the renewal request, if financial considerations should require our disengagement from PDDYNAMIC, this could only be accomplished gradually. While we do not recommend that financial support to PDDYNAMIC be reduced, we do believe that SE Division should prepare alternative plans covering (a) the level of funding over the next two years which would be required to maintain the current operational posture of this activity, permit 5% pay raises, and meet continuing inflation; and (b) possible termination of the activity, indicating the time it would take and the cost per year until termination were completed.

7. Staff Position: The Evaluation and Program Staff recommends approval of this renewal request. The Central Cover Staff concurs in this recommendation without written comment. Chief, Covert Action Staff notes that at the 20 May 1976 OAG meeting the State Department representative asked that the concepts of nationalism and Ukrainian separatism be played down in the SE Division CA Program. In his memorandum to the Chairman of the OAG on 7 September 1976, the DCI said, in reference to negotiations between SE Division and the State Department during the summer, that, "Concern about the support to a Ukrainian emigre organization was dispelled with the clarification that the group is focused on the common plight of all nationalities in the Soviet Union under the communist regime and does not represent an anti-Russian separatist movement." Chief, Covert Action Staff advises that this activity is in accordance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act.

8. This Staff requests your concurrence in the suggestion in paragraph 6, above, that SE Division prepare alternative contingency plans concerning the financial problems affecting Activity PDDYNAMIC.

*Concern in para 6
recommendation.*

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16 AUG 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations
FROM : []
Chief, Covert Action Group
SUBJECT : OPACT PDDYNAMIC FY 1977 Renewal

1. OPACT PDDYNAMIC is in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act in that it was covered in the first Presidential Findings of 10 January 1975 and subsequently reported to the concerned congressional committees by the DCI.

2. PDDYNAMIC (as part of the combined Soviet Union/Eastern Europe program) was last presented to the Operations Advisory Group on 20 May 1976 when it was approved with State Department recommending that the book distribution program be augmented by decreasing the amount allocated for the human rights program. PDDYNAMIC appears to be concerned mainly with book publishing activities and is probably not affected by State's recommendation. However, per the DDO's minutes of the 20 May 1976 OAG meeting: "They [State] asked that the concepts of nationalism and Ukranian separatism be played down and the human rights aspect be exploited." Negotiations between State and SE Division have been initiated to adjudicate these issues. Project approval should await SE's report to the OAG on negotiations with State.

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations
SUBJECT: FY 77 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

1. PDDYNAMIC supports the ZP/UHVR (Ukrainian Liberation Council) and more directly its publishing and operational element, Prolog Research Corporation, located in New York. Through its Munich affiliate, Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, Prolog publishes a monthly political-literary magazine, Suchasnist (Contemporary), and books (primarily in Ukrainian) which are infiltrated into the USSR for clandestine distribution, as well as passed to travelers and official Soviet representatives abroad. Prolog publications are designed to support those Ukrainians who seek a moderation of the Soviet political system, pursuant to DDO Objective A.2. This activity is included in the latest SE Division submission to the OAG.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

2. During the fifteen-month period of FY 1976, an estimated total of 32,550 items of PDDYNAMIC-produced literature will be distributed to the target. This calculation is based on actual distribution statistics for the period 1 July 1975 through 31 May 1976. (See Annex A for details.) Income from commercial sales will approach \$ J during FY 1976.

3. Between 1 July 1975 and 31 May 1976, fifty-seven Prolog collaborators traveled to the USSR, many carrying Prolog literature to relatives, friends and contacts in the Ukraine. These visitors contacted about 500 Soviet citizens. Some of these agreed to distribute literature or furnished information on conditions in the Soviet Union, news of dissident activity, and the treatment of arrested dissidents, including many who are being subjected to psychiatric abuse. Acknowledgment of the receipt of Prolog material is still effected by the use of oblique references and code words, and letters reviewed by the activity case officer often illustrate clever and ingenious means of assuring Prolog that its message is being received and transmitted further. There is also evidence that much of this material is duplicated and circulated inside the Ukraine.

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4. Prolog has published seven books to date during FY 76, in 1,300 copies each; two more are in print and will appear by August. The most significant work of the year has been the Russian-language "Natsionalnyy Vopros v SSSR" (The Nationality Problem in the USSR), a collection of samizdat and other documents edited by PDDYNAMIC/57. This book was printed by OTS in small format, without colophon or attribution of any sort, for distribution by PDDYNAMIC and PDPORAL. A larger edition, fully attributable to Prolog, was printed by a New York firm for commercial distribution. The press run of Suchasnist magazine is 2,000 copies. The letter-sized Information Bulletin has appeared four times, in 2,500 copies each. The English-language Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press is published monthly in 300 copies, for commercial sale.

5. PDDYNAMIC/29 is still in personal and mail contact with PDDYNAMIC/74 in Munich, whose organization, The Ukrainian Society for the Study of Asian Problems (USSAP), collaborates with identified intelligence officers of the embassy of the Chinese People's Republic in Bonn. PDDYNAMIC/29 meets with a Bonn Base China Operations officer during his TDY trips to Europe, and reports directly to this officer on USSAP developments. Information obtained this year indicates increasing Soviet displeasure over Chinese exploitation of the troublesome nationalities question, and the USSAP has received warnings from the Ukraine to cease this collaboration.

6. In New York, PDDYNAMIC/57 continues his contact with two Soviet Ukrainian officials at the United Nations, and reports on these contacts to FR New York Base. PDDYNAMIC/57 has made two trips to Europe to enlist the aid of students of both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian background in the distribution of Prolog material. He has also met with regular Prolog sources in Europe and debriefed some newly arrived Ukrainian and Jewish emigres. The 32-year-old PDDYNAMIC/57 has had a modest success in sparking the interest of young people in the abuses of the Soviet Gulag system. Leonid Plyushch, who was released from a Soviet psychiatric institute in February 1976, asked to be put into contact with PDDYNAMIC/57 when he arrived in Paris from the Soviet Union. PDDYNAMIC/57 has been in close contact with Plyushch, especially during Plyushch's trip to the United States in March and April 1976; Plyushch is now contributing to Suchasnist magazine.

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7. Lev Yagman, a Ukrainian dissident who was released from prison in 1975 and is now in Israel, told PDDYNAMIC/57 in Rome that prominent Ukrainian dissidents such as Ivan Svitlichniy and Ihor Kalynets had asked him to authorize the ZP/UHVR to speak on their behalf, in the West as well as in the Soviet Union.

8. There has been no diminution in the attacks against the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists." Three books published in the Ukraine this year have attacked the ZP/UHVR and its officers, including one entitled Yellow-Blue Mafia (yellow and blue being the Ukrainian nationalist colors). Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation in the anti-Soviet propaganda field is attacked in a book The Trident and the Star of David. (The trident (tryzub) is the Ukrainian nationalist symbol.) Between January and May 1976 there were five press and radio attacks against Suchasnist and Prolog books, as well as individual members of the ZP/UHVR.

9. Fikret Yurter, head of the Crimean Tatar Association of the United States, which is cooperating with Prolog on the infiltration of literature into the Soviet Union, reports that ten copies of the "Nationality Question in the USSR" have been taken into the USSR by tourists of Tatar background. These books were given to relatives in Tashkent and Samarkand. Comments on the book were very favorable, more copies have been requested, and the recipients have been making photocopies of the book for circulation to other interested persons.

10. The PDDYNAMIC case officer has prepared for the record a review of this activity covering the past six years, supplementing an operational history of the activity which was compiled in 1969. The review "PDDYNAMIC in the Seventies" is included in this renewal as Annex B.

PROBLEMS:

11. The major problem during the past fiscal year has been the persistent one caused by a restricted budget, accompanied by inflation, which, among other things, has forced discontinuance of the Ukrains'kiy Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent) monthly. No salary increases can

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be made, and non-witting employees have expressed their concern about the increased cost of living in New York. A deep assessment of the Activity was made to be certain that all employees are fully occupied with work which effectively meets our objectives. Leading witting officials of PDDYNAMIC are aware of the budgetary problems and have prepared themselves for the eventuality that our subsidy to them may be reduced further or even withdrawn if their activities do not produce at an acceptable level. Given the long years of close contractual association with the leadership of this group, care must be taken to give them fair and reasonable settlements should it become necessary to withdraw financial support in the future. A contingency plan for possible disengagement from PDDYNAMIC must take into account that this can not be accomplished overnight but must be a gradual process.

PLANS

12. Both PDDYNAMIC/29 and PDDYNAMIC/57 will travel to Europe during the coming year to continue their program of exploiting regular sources and establishing working contacts with groups and individuals concerned with the nationalities problem in the Soviet Union. These groups are proving useful in the expansion of the PDDYNAMIC collection and distribution network. PDDYNAMIC/57 will not go to Europe on a PCS assignment, in view of the cost involved in creating an operational activity to support him. Instead, PDDYNAMIC/57 will go to Europe on TDY as required, not to exceed twice yearly, to enable him to follow up contacts he has already made.

13. Prolog has plans for publishing ten Ukrainian-language books in FY 77. Among these are three samvydav (samizdat) works: "Prison Sonnets" by Ivan Svitlichnyy, "Poetry from the Concentration Camp" by Vasil Stus, and the "Essays of Evhen Sverstyuk." A major dissident work, "Svidok" (Eye Witness), by Volodymyr Barka, is also projected. A history of the Communist Party of the Ukraine by Ivan Maystrenko will appear, designed to present the Ukrainian reader with an unbiased and factual history of the development of the party at the expense of individual rights. The cost of this proposed publication program is estimated at \$ ()

COSTS

14. It is requested that PDDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1977 in the amount of \$ () This represents no increase over FY 1976.

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Source of Funds

Funds for PDDYNAMIC were included in the SE Division Operational Program for FY 1977 in the amount of \$[]. The additional sum of \$[] will be made available from other SE/SAG/CA activities. The FY 1978 program will be revised to include \$ for this activity.

Budget

See attached breakdown.

Foreign Funds

Approximately 42% of all PDDYNAMIC funds is expended in German or other West European currencies. Conversion from U.S. dollars is handled by Prolog Corporation.

Commitments

No additional commitments were made to PDDYNAMIC during the current fiscal year.

Funding

Funds attributed to notional facilities provided by Cover and Commercial Staff are deposited in the New York City bank account of Prolog Corporation and the Munich bank of Prolog's German affiliate, the Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies. These funds represent ostensible research contracts. Checks drawn on the bank accounts of the notional facilities are mailed to the Prolog account. Funds for the Munich affiliate are sent by bank transfers originating from a United States bank, and attributed to a notional facility.

Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the PDDYNAMIC Administrative Plan.

PDDYNAMIC BUDGET BREAKDOWN

FY-1975 ----- FY-1978

	<u>FY-1975</u>	<u>FY-1976 and TRANSITION QUARTER</u>	<u>FY-1977</u>	<u>FY-1978</u>
<u>Cash Resources</u>				
Beginning Cash Balance	\$ [
Subsidy				
Income from Sales of Books and Subscriptions				
Total Cash Resources Available				
Less Expenditures]
Ending Cash Balance:				
<u>Expenditures</u>				
<u>Fixed Expenses*</u>				
Payroll & Fringe Benefits				
New York Office	\$ 178,330	\$ 158,015	\$ 134,905	\$ 134,100
Office Administration				
New York Office	18,422	24,900	19,975	21,400
Sub-Total Fixed Expenses:	\$ 196,752	\$ 182,915	\$ 154,880	\$ 155,500
<u>Operating Expenses</u>				
Operational Travel	\$ [
Purchase of Books & Publications				
Entertainment				
Publishing Costs				
Distribution Costs				
Affiliated Group (Munich)**				
Research & Contact Operations**				
Sub-Total Operating Expenses:				
Total Expenditures:]

*See Annex 1

**See Annex 2

ANNEX I

	<u>FY-1975</u>	<u>FY-1976 and TRANSITION QUARTER</u>	<u>FY-1977</u>	<u>FY-1978</u>
<u>Payroll & Fringe Benefits</u>				
Salaries	\$ 116,391	\$ 143,732	\$ 123,265	\$ 122,000
Contributions to Employees Pension Plan	57,434*	9,250	6,340	6,500
Insurance	4,505	4,983	5,200	5,500
Due & Registration	- 0 -	50	100	100
Total Payroll & Fringe Benefits:	\$ 178,330	\$ 158,015	\$ 134,905	\$ 134,100

Fixed Expenses

Rent
Electricity
Telephone
Stationery, Postage, Office
Equipment
Taxes & Licenses
Maintenance & Repairs
Miscellaneous Expenses

\$ □

Total Fixed Expenses:

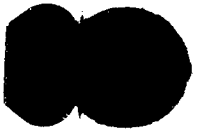
_____]

*Includes \$_____ of FY-1975 year-end
funds approved by the DDO on 24 June 1975
to be funded to the PDDYNAMIC Retirement fund.



AVERAGE MONTHLY DISTRIBUTION OF PDDYNAMIC PUBLICATIONS FOR FY 1976 (Based on actual distribution figures for the period 1 July 75 to 31 May 76) and estimated total distribution for this 15-month period.

METHOD OF DISTRIBUTION	SUCHASNIST	INFORMATION BULLETIN	BOOKS	TOTALS	
				1 MONTH	15 MONTHS
Hand carried directly to USSR by legal travelers	30	25	25	80	1,200
Hand carried to East Europe, then hand carried by EE contact to USSR	150	40	130	320	4,800
Hand carried to East Europe, then mailed by EE contact to USSR	100	150	120	370	5,550
Mailed directly to USSR from West Europe, Canada, Australia and U.S.A.	125	700	100	925	13,875
Special methods: concealed in parcels; infiltration in concealed compartments of vehicles; distribution to USSR naval and merchant marine personnel in West	115	60	90	265	3,975
Personal distribution to Soviets traveling or stationed in West	65	65	80	210	3,150
TOTAL DISTRIBUTION TO TARGET	585	1040	545	2,170	32,550



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ANNEX B

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

FROM: [SE/SAG/CA]

SUBJECT: PDDYNAMIC in the Seventies

1. Background:

PDDYNAMIC supports in ZP/UHVR (Foreign Representation, Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) and its publishing and distribution element, Prolog Research Corporation, an Agency proprietary located at 875 West End Avenue, New York, N.Y. Prolog, and a Munich affiliate, the Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, publish and distribute Prolog publications, including the monthly Suchasnist (Contemporary) to the target area, Soviet Ukraine, and to Soviets stationed or traveling abroad. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council was established in the Soviet Ukraine in 1944, as an advisory council to the Ukrainian Partisan Army, to give political and ideological direction to guerilla operations against the Germans, and later the Russians. The Foreign Representation of the Council was established in Germany in early 1946 to continue the struggle for Ukrainian independence and self-determination with the aid of those intellectuals who had emigrated from the Soviet Union. The CIA established an operational relationship with the Council in 1949, and created an umbrella project AERODYNAMIC, covering many facets of covert and political action, as well as FI and CI, including the air-dropping of agents into the Ukraine (Project AECARTHAGE). The principals, then encrypted in the AECASSOWARY series, were involved in these diverse activities until 1957, when the project assumed a mainly media production and distribution role, including a modest FI capability.

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The aims of the Council changed direction, encouraging intellectual freedom and increased self-determination in the Ukraine, supporting anti-Soviet dissidence, and the Council realized that the aim of an independent Ukraine had become a practical impossibility. Under control of CA Staff, AERODYNAMIC became QRDYNAMIC in 1970, then reverted to SE control in 1974 as PDDYNAMIC. A detailed history of CIA's operational relationship with the Council was written by a Headquarters officer in 1969, and is in SE/SAG/CA files.

2. Personnel:

Prior to 1973 the president of Prolog Corporation was Mykola Lebed, one of the founders of the ZP/UHVR and still secretary-general of the Council. He was assisted by Vice President Myroslav Prokop, in charge of publications (who became president in October 1973 on the express wish of Lebed) and Anatol Kaminsky, in charge of operations (intelligence sources, debriefings, distribution of publications, and internal contacts). In 1970 the New York office had ten employees. The Munich office, handling printing and distribution of publications, had six employees. We initiated a policy of reducing the number of employees by attrition, not replacing those who retire, and giving modest raises to those remaining. We strengthened the Prolog pension plan, which in 1970 was merely a contributory plan for the purchase of stocks to supply an annuity for a retiring employee. The pension plan was placed under MHMUTUAL management by the Office of Personnel in 1972; employee contributions were increased from six to seven percent, and the Agency contributed \$[] to the plan, the amount which would have accrued had the pension plan been effect since the establishment of Prolog Corporation in 1952. At present the New York office has seven employees, and the Munich office has two full-time and two part-time employees. Mykola Lebed retired in December 1975, but remains in a consultant status.

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Kaminsky is still Vice President in charge of operations, and is assisted by a promising young officer, Roman Kupchinsky. The treasurer, Bohdan Czajkowskyj, effectively handles fiscal matters for Prolog. Office of Finance auditors, who audit Prolog annually, have expressed great satisfaction with his fiscal management. A straight-line budget prohibits the hiring of additional people at the moment, although two or three younger candidates have indicated their willingness to work for Prolog. The part-time services of local university students are used for routine tasks. This has had the effect of keeping up the interest and enthusiasm of these young people for the work of the ZP/UHVR, providing a potential future cadre.

3. Budget and Fiscal:

The annual PDDYNAMIC subsidy increased from \$ [redacted] in FY 1972 to \$ [redacted] in FY 1975, and was then cut to \$ [redacted] in FY 1976 and FY 1977. Payroll and fringe benefits have gone from \$ [redacted] in FY 1972 to \$ [redacted] in FY 1976 and \$ [redacted] in FY 1977. Thus the ratio of payroll expenses to the entire budget has remained fairly constant. In order to cope with the tight budget many economies have been made, including the discontinuing of the monthly Ukrains'kiy Samostiynky (Ukrainian Independent), the organ of the small affiliated party OUN/Z (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad), which serves as a major distribution element for all activity publications. In 1970 employee salaries were unrealistically low; Prolog President Mykola Lebed was paid \$12,900 per year. With the onset of inflation in 1972, we were able to raise salaries to a still modest level (top salary is now \$20,110 per annum) but a straight-line budget since FY 1976 has prevented the granting of future raises despite the soaring cost of living in the New York area.

S E C R E T

4. Distribution of Publications:

Throughout the operational history of PDDYNAMIC, a prime consideration has been to get its published material into the target area, to dissident intellectuals cooperating with the Council. This is admittedly far from an easy task because of Soviet border and postal controls. Using contacts forged during and after World War II, the Council gradually established a distribution mechanism in both East and West Europe, using trusted persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin. More than fifty collaborators in Western Europe, Canada, Australia and the United States are members of the ZP/UHVR or the OUN/Z. They serve not only as regular distributors of Prolog publications, but are also channels for information and samizdat from the Soviet Union. This dedicated core of adherents is supplemented by young students and intellectuals of other than Ukrainian origin throughout Western Europe who oppose Soviet repression and infringement of human rights. Some of the older established contacts, because of their occupations or positions, travel regularly into Eastern European countries, where they in turn have contacts who can infiltrate the material into the Soviet Union. Five of these collaborators are in Poland; eleven in Czechoslovakia; eight in Yugoslavia; five in Romania; and one each in Hungary and Bulgaria. Most of these are able to travel to the Soviet Union and receive visitors from the USSR. One Warsaw professor has even persuaded his students to bring material into the Ukraine. He also has academic connections in Moscow, and good connections with the Russian dissident community. Prolog also uses individuals who are not of Ukrainian background in Western Europe who have legitimate travel access to the Soviet Union. Travelers to the Soviet Union who regularly cooperate with Prolog report that Prolog publications are passed from person to person, photocopied or otherwise duplicated, and many find their way inevitably to the black market. Prolog officers are making every effort to increase the distribution capability, especially in expanding the use of younger persons.

S E C R E T

5. Verification of Receipt of Publications in the USSR:

Probably the most elusive factor in the distribution of propaganda materials into a denied area is the verification of receipt of such materials by the intended addressee. Accurate documentary evidence of receipt, a letter to the distributor, carries an element of danger to the personal security of the writer, and is therefore a rare thing. Prolog officers seek as accurate verification as possible, and to this end distributors have developed an informal but effective system of oblique references, double-talk, or codes to supplement the less tangible word-of-mouth verification. The headquarters case officer periodically examines these letters in Prolog files. One such letter thanked a friend in the West for the literature on the Ukrainian national hero Taras Shevchenko (in good standing with the Soviet regime). Since an article on Shevchenko had appeared in a recent issue of Suchasnist, the distributor knew that the magazine had arrived. Another writer thanked a friend for the "vitamins which arrived from Moscow." This had been a pre-arranged code to verify that a package of Prolog material, hand-carried to Moscow, had arrived through the Kiev post office without incident. Prolog Vice President Kaminsky regularly makes these letters available for review, requesting only that we do not record the names involved. This is in response to Headquarters' request for additional evidence of verification.

6. Vestnik Narodov:

In late 1972 Headquarters, with the aid of a career associate of Russian-Latvian background, established a letter-sized periodic bulletin Vestnik Narodov (Herald of the Nationalities). The purpose of this bulletin is to infiltrate news of dissident activity throughout the Soviet Union. Using Russian, the official language of the Soviet Union, materials

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from various sources are collated and edited, then printed in 1,000 copies on bible-type paper by OTS. They are mailed to Russia, the Ukraine, Baltic republics and Central Asian republics in hand-addressed envelopes, ostensibly as personal letters, by PDDYNAMIC, PDQUARTO and KSGGLAD assets. They are also often inserted in books and magazines hand-carried or mailed to the USSR from less sensitive areas. Prolog contributes a large percentage of the material, and has direct contact with the career associate for this purpose. It also distributes 300 copies of each issue through its channels. Prolog officers have been most helpful and cooperate in this effort.

7. PDDYNAMIC Contribution to CIA Operational and Analytical Intelligence:

The dissemination of PDDYNAMIC FI reports has diminished since the January 1972 KGB arrests of Ukrainian dissidents, since this group represented the main sources of information for PDDYNAMIC. From ten or twelve per year prior to the arrests, the total was reduced to four in FY 1975. From an operational intelligence viewpoint, one Prolog officer is in contact with two members of the Ukrainian Mission to the United Nations, and reports directly to an SE officer in [redacted] on these targets. Kaminsky has an established source in Munich who has become involved in cooperating with identified intelligence officers of the People's Republic of China embassy in Bonn, who are collecting information on Soviet repression of national minorities which the PRC uses in its propaganda war against the USSR. This is striking evidence of the importance of the nationalities problem in the eyes of the PRC, which takes every opportunity to appeal to national minorities to oppose policies of the "socialist imperialists" in Moscow. Kaminsky monitors this operation for both Headquarters and Bonn Base, and meets with a China Operations officer from Bonn Base during his trips to Germany. Contact between Bonn Base and Kaminsky during the intervals between Kaminsky's visits is handled through the Headquarters case officer.

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8. Operational leads provided by Kaminsky are passed to the appropriate DDO component. Prolog officers have also debriefed newly arrived Soviet Ukrainian emigres using Headquarters requirements, as an aid to SE/SAG/OP. Prolog, under Dr. Prokop's direction, prepared detailed biographic sketches of Ukrainian dissidents at the time of the 1972 arrests and trails, which were sent to SE/RR, CRS, OCI/USSR, OPR and State Department/ONR. Prolog is currently updating these biographies, which will again be sent to interested offices. In 1975 the Office of Political Research made a study of Nationalism in Soviet Ukraine (OPR 111-SC/03845/75) and requested our aid in obtaining source material. Dr. Prokop provided an extensive bibliography, translations of Ukrainian samvday (samizdat), photographs and biographic data of principal personalities, and texts on Ukrainian nationalist dissidence.

9. Case Officer Observations:

When I assumed responsibility for this activity in 1970, from a Ukrainian-speaking case officer who retired that year, I had had no direct exposure to Ukrainian affairs, and no Ukrainian language capability. I was soon impressed by the sincere dedication and professional competency of the activity's principal officers, and with their honesty and cooperation with the Agency which had supported their efforts since 1949. I was baffled by the myriad Ukrainian emigre political parties, many of which are completely ineffectual, and with their widely varying aims and consequent disagreements. It was gratifying to note that the Council has traditionally remained aloof from this confusion, being a political advisory group of intellectuals rather than a political party. The Council cooperates with some of the more serious Ukrainian emigre groups, as well as Russian emigre groups (including the NTS) and representatives of other non-Russian emigre groups such as Byelorussians, Balts and Tatars. While the Council deplors the Russification of many phases of Ukrainian intellectual, cultural and social life, it places the blame for this policy on the Soviet leadership, not the Russians.

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Their cooperation with the Russian dissident intellectuals, both internal and in the emigration, has earned them the enmity of the more right-wing ultranationalist Ukrainian emigre parties. Their publications have come to the attention of such prominent Russian dissidents as Sakharov, as well as to Ukrainian dissenters. The PDDYNAMIC principals are well-informed, politically involved men who, in addition to their native Ukrainian, are equally at home in Russian and Polish, and regularly read the Soviet Russian press.

10. As a necessary adjunct to the management of PDDYNAMIC, I have acquired a reading knowledge of Ukrainian, and review the monthly Suchasnist, discussing the contents with Prolog President Dr. Myroslav Prokop during my regular visits to New York. In 1970 PDDYNAMIC was heavily oriented toward the Ukrainian political scene, especially its dissident aspects which plague the Soviet leadership. Gradually we have directed the monthly to address itself to the entire spectrum of nationalism and dissidence in the Soviet Union, and have encouraged the expansion of contacts with groups and individuals from other non-Russian areas, and with Jewish dissidents. The magazine has carried an increasing number of articles on political affairs in Poland, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

11. Why CIA Support of ZP/UHVR?

The Ukrainian Liberation Council has a symbolic value as a focal point of opposition to Soviet repression in the Ukraine, and by extension in other Soviet minority areas. In addition, as is well known from the examples of Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, the need for a strong and vocal opposition to Soviet persecution of dissidents, whether they be of Russian, Ukrainian or other national backgrounds, is the only pressure to which the Soviet government responds in modifying the repression or persecution, or in releasing victims of such persecution. The Soviets have consistently attacked ZP/UHVR in every manner possible, from press attacks to assassination of its leaders (Lev Rebet's assassination by Bogdan Stashinsky in 1957), testifying to the extent of pain and discomfiture caused by this thorn in their flesh.

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And yet, the Council has been able to continue its anti-Soviet work for over thirty years without a hostile penetration or debasement of its goals. This is a tribute to the caliber of its leaders.

12. Prolog, through its publications and personal contacts, makes every effort to observe and analyze Soviet internal and external policies and developments from the viewpoint of a Soviet Ukrainian, and to address him in his own frame of reference. Prolog publications are directed to the Soviet Ukrainian target audience, not to the emigre in the West who has lost touch with the realities in the homeland. The fact has often made the Council and Prolog unpopular with Ukrainian emigre political parties, but has earned high praise and respect from Soviet intellectual dissidents. In spite of the temptation to make their attacks on the Soviet regime nationalistic in nature (Ukrainian nationalism versus Great Russian chauvinism) this group has refrained from such unproductive diatribes, and has enlisted the support of all groups fighting Soviet oppression, including Russians, Jews, Balts, Poles and Central Asians. This policy on the part of the ZP/UHVR is to be encouraged in order to avoid fragmentation of the CA effort against Soviet repression in all republics.

13. Russification as a policy existed under the tsars, as it does today under the Soviets. Although the Soviets have made some concessions, for instance in the wider use of the Ukrainian language, close examination shows them to be largely superficial. The language question is an emotionally charged issue which has been a rallying point for dissidence for many decades. Petr Shelest, Ukrainian CP Secretary from 1963 until 1972, espoused Ukrainian nationalism, admittedly somewhat cautiously, and even opposed the practice of introducing Russian terms into Ukrainian. He advocated the expanded use of Ukrainian in official and educational circles. Ostensibly because of his disagreement with some of Brezhnev's policies, he was dismissed as Party Secretary in May 1972.

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14. The 1975 OPR report on Nationalism in the Soviet Ukraine, based on numerous well-researched sources, describes Ukrainian dissidence as follows:

"A sociological breakdown of Ukrainian dissidents reveals, not unexpectedly, a heavy preponderance of writers, linguists, historians, journalists, teachers, and lawyers. Although most of the more visible dissidents belong to this literary or "humanistic" intelligentsia, their dominance is probably not as great as is the case with dissent in Russia. Among Ukrainian dissidents are many members of the scientific-technical intelligentsia, whose opposition is more troublesome for Soviet authorities. Members of the scientific-technical intelligentsia comprise about a fourth of known arrests during the last twenty years.

"Perhaps even more alarming for the regime are signs of nationalism among lower strata of the population. A great fear of the central authorities may be that, at some period of great strain for the government, such as military attack by China or a succession struggle among top Soviet leaders, Ukrainian intellectual dissidents could tap a reservoir of latent mass discontent. The Ukrainian dissidents possess a potential weapon their Russian counterparts do not, since in the Ukraine the normal economic grievances of the population may be aggravated by popular resentment of Russian domination.

15. The OPR report again makes the following observations on the Ukraine: "After the Russian Republic itself, there is no area of the Soviet Empire more important to Moscow than the Ukraine." Considering covert action against the Soviet Ukraine, we must concede the significance of distribution and production statistics and the element of cost effectiveness.

S E C R E T

It would, however, be useful to conduct a detailed study of the Ukrainian, since the Agency supports CA activities targeted against both republics. Such a study would not seek to determine whether Agency support of ZP/UHVR is essential--we have evidence that this activity hits a raw nerve. We should try to find out how we can improve on our CA operations against the Soviet Union. The study should attempt to document the following:

- a. The influence and impact of all dissident movements on the development of internal and external policies of the Soviet government, the strains and stresses they have created on the leadership level, and the damage to the Soviet regime which has in effect been beneficial to United States foreign policy.
- b. The influence and impact of the Ukrainian dissident movement in particular on both All-Union and Ukrainian policies, and the role which PDDYNAMIC has played in sustaining, deploying and enhancing the influence of the Ukrainian dissident movement, to the benefit of the United States government.

16. Developments and facts in recent years adequately attest to the importance of all dissidence in the Soviet Union. It is obvious that the Ukrainian dissident movement, in company with other nationalist movements, arose as a genuine, locally engendered phenomenon. Without the financial, material, operational and moral support rendered to the dissidents by PDDYNAMIC, however it would have been only half as effective as it has been, particularly in its impact upon policies of the Soviet government.

S E C R E T

In the period of "peace through strength" which has coincided with increased repression, arrests, and psychiatric abuse in the Soviet Union, CIA should make every effort to encourage present dissent and aid those activities which are attempting to develop new nuclei of dissidence which eventually will become an important factor in shaping Soviet internal and external policy, promoting human rights and fostering a liberalized atmosphere in the Soviet Union, in compliance with Operations Directorate Objective A.2.a.

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WARNING NOTICE SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES AND METHODS INVOLVED



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20505

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

7 SEP 1976

DD/O 766247

Executive Registry

76-9958

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Honorable Brent Scowcroft
Chairman, Operations Advisory Group

FROM : George Bush
Director

SUBJECT : Covert Action Activities Against the
Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

1. During a meeting on 20 May 1976 the Operations Advisory Group reviewed the CIA Status Report on Covert Action activities against the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. At that time a Department of State representative suggested that funds allocated to continue Agency Covert Action activities in the field of human rights (focused on exposing Soviet violations of human rights) might better be re-allocated to augment the book distribution activities described in the same report.

2. Subsequent to this meeting, representatives of the Agency have met with State Department officials to further clarify the reservations expressed at the 20 May meeting. During these follow-up discussions, a review with Department of State representatives of Agency activities supporting human rights has resulted in a re-examination of all such activities to eliminate those which, if exposed, appear to hold any significant possibility for compromise to the dissenters who remain in the USSR or those which have any chance of carrying on spontaneously without Agency involvement or support. In response to this review and specific State Department recommendations, several modifications have been made and in some cases a decision has been reached to disengage Agency assets or support.

CLASSIFIED BY SIGNER. EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION
SCHEDULE OF E. O. 11652 EXEMPTION CATEGORY 5B(2).
IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE DATE OF AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION.

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3. Also addressed was the question of increasing the subsidy to the NTS, a Russian emigre organization, for the publication and distribution to Soviet citizens of Russian language material not otherwise available to them. The Department of State found no objection to an increase of \$ [] for this purpose. Concern about the support to a Ukrainian emigre organization was dispelled with the clarification that the group is focused on the common plight of all nationalities in the Soviet Union under the communist regime and does not represent an anti-Russian separatist movement.

4. The resulting accommodation does not significantly alter Agency objectives or activities in these areas as outlined in the original report. The Department of State has expressed agreement with the content of this memorandum and has indicated its intent to withdraw its reservations on these issues.

/s/ George Bush

George Bush

CONCUR:

/s/ []

Chief, Soviet/East European Division

/s/ []

Chief, Covert Action Group, Services Staff

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Deputy Director for Operations

2 SEP 1976

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SE/SAG/CA() (R-1073) (mvp) (28 August 1976)

Distribution: Original - Addressee
1 - DCI
1 - DDCI
1 - Executive Registry (Dummy)
1 - DDO
1 - ADDO
1 - DDO Registry (Dummy)
1 - C/SE
1 - C/SS/CAG
1 - C/PS
1 - PS/EG/F ()
4 - SE/SAG/CA
2 - State Department

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16 AUG 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations
FROM: []
Chief, Covert Action Group
SUBJECT: OPACT PDDYNAMIC FY 1977 Renewal

1. OPACT PDDYNAMIC is in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act in that it was covered in the first Presidential Findings of 10 January 1975 and subsequently reported to the concerned congressional committees by the DCI.

2. PDDYNAMIC (as part of the combined Soviet Union/Eastern Europe program) was last presented to the Operations Advisory Group on 20 May 1976 when it was approved with State Department recommending that the book distribution program be augmented by decreasing the amount allocated for the human rights program. PDDYNAMIC appears to be concerned mainly with book publishing activities and is probably not affected by State's recommendation. However, per the DDO's minutes of the 20 May 1976 OAG meeting: "They [State] asked that the concepts of nationalism and Ukrainian separatism be played down and the human rights aspect be exploited." Negotiations between State and SE Division have been initiated to adjudicate these issues. Project approval should await SE's report to the OAG on negotiations with State.

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WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

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S E C R E T

9 August 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SE
FROM: Richard E. Scutt
SE/SAG/CA
SUBJECT: PDDYNAMIC Phaseout Contingency

1. In considering any commitment connected with a phaseout of PDDYNAMIC, leading to an eventual termination of the activity, one salient fact presents itself. We would not merely be terminating a commercial enterprise, the proprietary known as Prolog Research Corporation. We would be terminating the life work of dedicated men who basically are not reemployable. Thus, our principal moral and ethical commitment to these men is to make the phaseout a gradual process so that they may readjust their lives, without bitterness, resentment, and possible security problems. The undersigned recommends the project be continued until FY 79.

2. The two most senior officers, Prokop and Czajkowskyj, can retire by FY 79, with a modest LPEQUAL (MHMUTUAL) pension and social security. The younger employees will have to seek other employment. In the case of Vice President Kaminsky, who will then be close to 55, this will pose problems. The two men in Munich have no pension backup, and will have to rely on German social security benefits. They should receive some sort of termination bonus. *How much will they get? how much?*

3. Basic biographic data on Prolog employees follow:

a. Myroslaw Prokop, cleared and witting principal agent, President, Prolog Corporation, Salary \$20,109. Born 6 May 1913, married, two daughters (one dependent); wife unemployed. Prolog employee since 1952. Writer and sovietologist, PhD with many years of political experience. *age 63*

WARNING NOTICE
SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE SOURCES
AND METHODS INVOLVED

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b. Anatol Kaminsky, cleared and witting principal agent, Vice-President, Prolog Corporation, Salary \$18,774. Born 17 May 1925, married, wife employed, one son in college. Prolog employee since 1960. Author of many books and articles on Ukraine. Directs operational activity, intelligence collection and contact of travelers to and from Soviet Union.

c. Bohdan Czajkowskyj, cleared and witting, Treasurer, Prolog Corporation, Salary \$17,886. Born 22 June 1915, married, wife unemployed. Prolog employee since 1952. Handles all budget and fiscal matters, personnel officer, maintains all administrative records, prepares annual budget and quarterly statements for Headquarters. *age 61*

d. Roman Kupchinsky, cleared and witting, assistant to Prolog operations officer Kaminsky. Salary \$13,380. Born 1 November 1944, married, wife employed. Prolog employee since 1972, part-time in mid-sixties before military service. Writes for Suchasnist magazine, contacts sources of information, develops new distribution assets through contacts with younger people.

e. Marta Skorupska, non-witting, Editor of monthly Suchasnist at Prolog. Salary \$12,408. Born 6 October 1940; Canadian citizen, married to U.S. citizen. Prolog employee since 1969. Writer, translator, contacts sources of information under Kaminsky's direction.

f. Nina Ilnytska, non-witting. Secretary-receptionist in Prolog office. Salary \$8,026. Born 16 August 1924. Married. Prolog employee since 1967. Does translation and general clerical work.

g. Stephan Welgasch, non-witting. Translator at Prolog, Salary \$8,000. Born 17 April 1949. Canadian citizen. Prolog employee since 1974.

h. Yaroslav Fedyk, witting, but no case officer contacts. Employed with Prolog affiliate in Munich, FRG, Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, since 1960. Salary \$8,000. Born 10 September 1916. Operational affiliation with CIA dates back to 1948; involved in training of REDSKIN infiltrates under Project AECARTHAGE in 1950's. Aids in publishing and distribution of Suchasnist, which is printed in Munich; contacts sources. *age 60*

S E C R E T

i. Ivan Czorny, witting, but no case officer contact. Chief of Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad in Munich since 1960. Salary \$8,500. Born 23 September 1925; writer for Suchasnist magazine, aids in publishing and distribution, contacts sources.

4. Both Prolog and Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad use part-time employees who do not participate in the pension plan, and for whom we have no commitments. At present there are two in New York, and two in Munich, doing general clerical work.

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S E C R E T

11 DEC 1975

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Plans Staff

SUBJECT: Application of Section 662 of Foreign
Assistance Act to Operational Activity
PDDYNAMIC

1. I have reviewed operational activity PDDYNAMIC and find that it is not intended solely for obtaining necessary intelligence.

2. PDDYNAMIC is an activity supporting a proprietary organization which collects and analyzes Ukrainian underground literature (samydav in Ukrainian, samizdat in Russian), and edits and publishes a monthly periodical and books in the Ukrainian language for clandestine distribution inside the Soviet Union. This includes works by Western authors and Soviet dissidents which are proscribed within the Soviet Union.

for /s/ []
Chief
Soviet/East European Division

DDO/SE/SAG/CA/L]:pas (8 December 1975)

Distribution:

Original - Addressee
1 - C/SE
1 - SE/SAG/CA/Memo Chrono
~~1~~ - SE/SAG/CA/PDDYNAMIC File

SE-75-89

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PROJECT ACTION	PROJECT CRYPTONYM PDDYNAMIC
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	TYPE OF ACTION	FI/C	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	CA	
	NEW PROJECT APPROVAL	DIVISION Soviet/East European Division			
	AMENDMENT NO.	FIELD STATION			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	RENEWAL FY 19 76	BRANCH SE/SAG/CA		DESK	
	EXTENSION	CASE OFFICER ☐			DATE 9 July 1975
	TERMINATION	ROOM NO. 3D0119	BUILDING HQS	TEL. EXT. 1073	RED 6118

CONCURRENCES OF DIVISIONS					
ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT	TYPED NAME (and signature)	DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/SE/SAG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	10 JUL 1975	9/7/75	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
C/SE/BF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	9 JUL 1975	11 July 75	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DC/SE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	9 JUL 1975	11 JUL 1975	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
C/SE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	11 JUL 1975	11 JUL 1975	

CONCURRENCES OF OTHER COMPONENTS						
(Type in Organizational Element and Name Below Only When Concurrence Obtained by Originating Element.)			DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
			IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/CCS/PRG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	16 Jul 75	7/18/75		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
AC/PS/EG/A	(Signed) <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	22 July 75	11 Aug 75		
C/PS/PG	(Signed) <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	22 July 75	23 July 75		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
DC/PS/EG/S	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	3 Sept 75			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
C/PS/EG	/s/ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	18 AUG 1975			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
C/PS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	1 Sept 75		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	

APPROVAL					
PERIOD		AMT THIS ACTION	FY	TOTAL AMOUNT	
FROM	1 July 74	TO	30 June 75		
	1 July 75		30 Sept 76	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
		\$ <input type="checkbox"/>	\$ <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
APPROVING AUTHORITY ADDO			SIGNATURE ☐	TP ☐	DATE 10 Oct 1975

S E C R E T

25 July 1975

SUBJECT: Addendum, FY 1976 PDDYNAMIC Activity Renewal

On 24 June 1975 the DDO approved the allocation of \$ [] of FY 1975 year-end funds to strengthen the PDDYNAMIC mutual fund (managed by MHMUTUAL). This provides future retirement benefits for the seven PDDYNAMIC employees.]

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C/SE/SAG

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DD/O 75-3550/a

3 MAY 1975

S E C R E T

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations
VIA: Chief, Plans Staff
SUBJECT: Request for Allocation of Year-End Savings

1. We request that the following Soviet/East European covert action assets and situations be funded by re-programming FY 75 year-end savings which may be available. In each case these relate to pension, retirement or separation benefits which are either legal Agency obligations or "moral" obligations to key assets. In all instances allocation of funds now will provide additional management options with these activities over the next several years.

A. Annuity.
a 46 year old stateless contract employee in Activity PDEGGHEAD, has no retirement benefits. is an effective and versatile asset in publishing and distributing books to both Polish and Soviet targets. We propose purchasing via MHMUTUAL an annuity which would yield \$ per month upon his retirement. The cost of this annuity, if purchased through annual premiums over the next 14 years would be \$. This same annuity can be purchased with a single payment of \$ - a savings of \$.

\$ 7

B. Retirement. , a covert action asset since 1949, is now 69 years of age. He has never been covered by any pension or annuity plan despite his long and effective service against the Polish target. Upon his retirement (projected for FY 80) he will be dependent upon rather meager French Social Security payments for his support. In recognition of his significant contribution to division objectives on a modest salary, we propose investing \$ in a mutual fund for him managed by MHMUTUAL.

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C. Addition to PDDYNAMIC Retirement Fund. Activity PDDYNAMIC, the proprietary targetted at the Ukraine, provides for the eventual retirement of its seven employees through a mutual fund managed by MHMUTUAL. The level of benefits which these employees can expect to receive from this mutual fund has been eroded through rising costs. In order to bring benefits more in line with the original programming, we propose infusing \$ [] into the mutual fund. This amount would be credited to the seven employees based on the salary level and length of service. This action will also facilitate imposing securely mandatory retirements at the age of 65.

\$ []

D. Funding of [] Pension Plan. Proprietary activity [], the division's major book distribution activity, has an overt pension plan covering its employees. As is the customary practice, this pension plan has an unfunded obligation (\$ []). While full funding of this pension fund is an eventual legal obligation of the Agency, partial funding of the pension plan now will give the division and the directorate additional flexibility in planning for this Activity's future. We recommend funding one half.

\$ []

2. The total funding requested in this memorandum is \$ []

[]
[]

Chief

Soviet/East European Division

APPROVED: []

[] 6/24/75

DISAPPROVED: _____

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MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT: FY 76 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

1. Pursuant to DDO Objective A.2., PDDYNAMIC funds the ZP/UHVR (Ukrainian Liberation Council) and more directly its publishing, research and operational element, Prolog Research Corporation, headquartered in New York City. Prolog publishes, through a Munich affiliate, periodicals and selected books (primarily in Ukrainian) for infiltration into the Soviet Union and distribution to travelers from the Soviet Ukraine. This is the only CIA activity directed primarily at the nationalities problem in the USSR. The Ukrainians are the largest non-Russian nationality in the USSR. Some are particularly forceful in pressing for their full legal rights within the Soviet federation. Prolog publications support those Ukrainians who seek to moderate the Soviet system. This activity was included in the SE Division 40 Committee submission (approved on 29 April 1975).

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

2. During the period 1 April 1974 to 31 March 1975, 21,780 pieces of PDDYNAMIC-produced literature were distributed to the target, including 2,755 items hand-carried into the USSR (see Annex 3 chart for complete distribution). Income from commercial sales will approach \$ [] in FY 75 (approximately 13% of the total budget).

3. The ZP/UHVR has about eighty distributors in Western Europe, North America and Australia, and thirty in Eastern Europe who receive material from West European collaborators. The East European distributors hand-carry or mail the items (5,020 in the reporting period) into the Soviet Union. The most efficient of these East European distributors are in Poland. Three travel regularly to the Ukraine. One of them, an ethnic Ukrainian and a physical scientist at the University

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of Warsaw, has made two trips to Kiev since August 1974. He occasionally uses some of his students as couriers. Total distribution through him was about 155 items. Based on performance over the years, Prolog officers have high confidence in the East European distribution channels.

4. Fifty-two Prolog collaborators in the West hand-carried Prolog-produced items into the USSR. These visitors to the USSR contacted some six hundred Ukrainian citizens, half of whom agreed to distribute Prolog materials or furnished information on current conditions in the Ukraine. About 55% of these internal contacts are in cultural and academic fields; 20% are doctors, lawyers or engineers; and the remaining 25% are technicians, laborers and agricultural workers. To cite a specific example of how this distribution system operates, a Prolog collaborator in Frankfurt contacted a group of young German trade union representatives from Frankfurt who were going to the Soviet Union on an officially sanctioned trip in the fall of 1974. The group took and turned over to a designated contact in Moscow twenty books -- two Arkhipelag Gulag in Russian and the rest Prolog books in Ukrainian. Acknowledgment of the receipt of Prolog material in the Soviet Union is an obvious security problem for the recipients. They normally rely on code words, phrases or veiled references to the content of an article or book in correspondence to the West.

5. Dissident Ukrainian students and intellectuals, like their Russian counterparts, often duplicate and circulate excerpts from Prolog books or Suchasnist. One example of this method is cited in a press release from the Soviet Embassy, Ottawa, dated 8 May 1974. This release (in answer to strong protests by Canadian Ukrainians) attempts to justify the harsh imprisonment of Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz. The release states, "It was found that through go-betweens Moroz received a negative film of an anti-Soviet book published in Munich -- The Derivation of the Rights of Ukraine. It was issued by the so-called Chief Ukrainian Liberation Council (Prolog Publishing House), which, together with all the worst enemies of the USSR, dreams of 'freeing' the Ukraine from socialism."

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6. Prolog published ten books in Ukrainian averaging 1,250 copies. These books provide both needed overt income and a logical cover for the covert action activities of Prolog Corporation. Included were Between Two Revolutions, by Anatol Kaminsky; The Nationalities Policy of Lenin, by Mykola Bakalo; Documents on Leonid Plyushch, by Tatyana Khodorovich; and Letters, Documents and Essays of Valentyn Moroz (in 3,500 copies). Plyushch and Moroz are prominent imprisoned Ukrainian dissidents. The press run of the monthly Suchasnist (Contemporary) is 1,700; Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), 1,500. The letter-sized Information Bulletin appeared four times in 2,500 copies each. The Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press in English is published monthly in 300 copies.

7. A young Prolog officer, PDDYNAMIC/57, presently meets two Soviet Ukrainian officials in the United Nations and reports regularly directly to [] on these two cases. The Base in turn keeps the FBI informed. Occasional other operational leads obtained from Prolog are passed to the appropriate Headquarters desk as received.

8. The PDDYNAMIC principal agent contacts in Munich an ethnic Ukrainian who is a leading member of the Chinese-supported Ukrainian Society for the Study of Asian Problems. We are thus able to monitor Chinese efforts to harass the Soviet regime by publicizing the nationalities issue in the West. Soviet sensitivities on this issue are illustrated by the frequent and vitriolic press and radio attacks on the "meddling Chinese" and the "Maoist orientation of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists." Prolog publications, especially Suchasnist, are also a frequent Soviet target because of their nationalist views, particularly articles by Prolog officers.

9. The Office of Political Research in the DDI is preparing an extensive study on the history and present state of Ukrainian national dissidence as a major Soviet political phenomenon. Prolog President Dr. Myroslav Prokop has provided a detailed bibliography on this subject to assist the OPR analyst, as well as individual studies and translations of pertinent material.

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PROBLEMS

10. Since 1972, the year in which key Ukrainian dissidents were arrested and imprisoned, PDDYNAMIC intelligence sources have dried up. Prolog's access now extends only to the family and friends of these arrestees, who are very cautious in their contacts with travelers from the West. Distribution in the Ukraine remains a difficult problem because both Western travelers and internal contacts fear harsh Soviet repressive measures. Arrested Ukrainian dissidents have received unusually severe sentences. Reports indicate, however, that the Ukrainian dissident movement is slowly recovering from the mass arrests of 1972. Younger intellectuals are keeping dissidence alive under the guise of emphasizing the Ukrainian cultural heritage and wider use of the Ukrainian language.

11. The budget reduction for FY 1976 has forced cutbacks in marginal activities as well as personnel. This reduction has had some affect on morale. Salaries, for example, have not been increased since 1973. Prolog officers recognize, however, the unavoidable fact that governmental expenditures must be reduced and they continue to have a strong ideological commitment to the program.

PLANS

12. The Prolog principal agent makes about three trips to Europe yearly. He contacts West European collaborators and personally directs more sensitive operations involving legal travelers into and from the Soviet Union. We plan to have his more youthful, witting assistant (PDDYNAMIC/57) accompany him on at least one trip. The objective will be twofold: to meet current collaborators, and to spot and assess younger new assets in Europe who can be used to expand and diversify the distribution capability. Should this approach to the distribution problem develop favorably, we will consider moving the assistant to Europe the following year (1977).

13. We have tightened the administration of PDDYNAMIC and reduced projected FY 76 costs by ten percent (\$). The Ukrains'kyy Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), organ of the affiliated OUN/Z, had been published monthly; with the May 1975 (spring) issue it becomes a quarterly. Suchasnist, the major monthly, will be cut back to ten issues. Depending on the availability of funds, nine books are to be published in FY 76 (see Annex 4 for titles).

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14. Mykola Lebed, former Prolog President, stepped down to the position of vice president in October 1973 and reduced his activities. He will be 65 years old in November 1975. Although his wish is to remain active and involved in the work of Prolog, he has accepted our decision that he retire. He realizes that the elimination of his full salary will help to reduce Prolog's overhead expenses. Lebed will remain as a consultant with a modest retainer to supplement his social security and Prolog annuity.

COSTS

15. It is requested that Activity PDDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1976 in the amount of \$ [redacted], \$ [redacted] less than submitted in the Congressional Budget. Funds are also requested for the FY-1976-FY-1977 transition period in the amount of \$ [redacted].

Source of Funds

Funds for PDDYNAMIC were included in the SE Division Operational Program for FY 1976 in the amount of \$ [redacted]. For the transition period (between FY 1976 and FY 1977) 1 July 1976 through 30 September 1976 funds have been included in the program in the amount of \$ [redacted]. The FY 1977 Program will include \$ [redacted] for this activity.

Budget

See Attached Breakdown.

Foreign Funds

Approximately 42% of all PDDYNAMIC funds is expended in German and other West European currencies. Conversion from U.S. dollars is handled by Prolog Corporation.

Commitments

The Agency has established a pension plan for Prolog Corporation, to which employer and employees contribute, administered by MHMUTUAL. We are committed, upon the retirement of each employee, to pay the accrued amount from MHMUTUAL funds, either as an annuity based on actuarial tables or as a lump sum, at the option of the retiree. No other special commitments have been made to Prolog Corporation or to any agent of the activity.

Funding

Funds, attributed to notional facilities provided by Cover and Commercial Staff, are deposited in the New York City bank account of Prolog Corporation and the Munich bank of Prolog's German affiliate, the Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies

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and represent ostensible research contracts. Checks drawn on the bank accounts of the notional facilities are mailed to the Prolog account. Funds for the Munich affiliate are sent by bank transfers originating from a United States bank and attributed to a notional facility.

Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the PDDYNAMIC Administrative Plan.

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PDDYNAMIC BUDGET BREAKDOWN

	<u>FY-1974</u>	<u>FY-1975</u>	<u>FY-1976</u>	<u>FY-1977</u>
<u>Cash Resources</u>				
Beginning Cash Balance	\$ [
Subsidy				
Income from Sales of Books and Subscriptions				
Total Cash Resources Available				
Less Expenditures				
Ending Cash Balance]
<u>Expenditures</u>				
<u>Fixed Expenses*</u>				
Payroll and Fringe Benefits				
New York Office	\$ 126,427.00	\$ 127,310.00	\$ 125,595.00	\$ 117,606.00
Office Administration				
New York Office	20,014.00	18,528.00	18,717.00	19,450.00
Sub-Total Fixed Expenses	146,441.00	145,838.00	144,312.00	137,056.00
<u>Operating Expenses</u>				
Operational Travel	F			
Purchase of Books and Publications				
Entertainment				
Cost of Publishing				
Distribution Costs				
Affiliated Group (Munich)**				
Research and Contract Operations*				
Sub-Total Operating Expenses				
Total Expenditures]

*See Annex 1

*See Annex 2

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ANNEX 1 CONTINUED

Munich Office Payroll

Per Annum Rates

PDDYNAMIC/40	6,955.00	7,754.00	7,754.00	7,754.00
PDDYNAMIC/6	6,145.00	7,315.00	7,315.00	7,315.00
PDDYNAMIC/60**	1,242.00	-0-	-0-	-0-
PDDYNAMIC/62	<u>5,958.00</u>	<u>6,240.00</u>	<u>6,240.00</u>	<u>6,240.00</u>

Total Munich Office	\$ 20,300.00	\$ 21,309.00	\$ 21,309.00	\$ 21,309.00
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PDDYNAMIC/60 retired June 1974

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ANNEX 2

	<u>FY-1974</u>	<u>FY-1975</u>	<u>FY-1976</u>	<u>FY-1977</u>
<u>reakdown of Affiliated Group (Munich)</u>				
Payroll & Fringe Benefits	\$ 20,300.00	\$ 21,309.00	\$ 21,309.00	\$ 21,309.00
Office Expenses	8,340.00	8,541.00	9,200.00	9,200.00
Publishing Expenses:				
<u>Suchasnist</u>	28,680.00	30,600.00	25,491.00	27,491.00
<u>Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk</u>	5,520.00	7,400.00	4,000.00	4,000.00
OTAL	\$ 62,840.00	\$ 67,850.00	\$ 60,000.00	\$ 62,000.00
<u>reakdown of Research & Contact Operations (Munich)</u>				
Research	7,750.00	9,400.00	7,800.00	8,400.00
Reverend Ivan Hryniokh (Stipend)	6,000.00	6,000.00	6,000.00	6,000.00
Contact Operations	<u>31,450.00</u>	<u>26,500.00</u>	<u>33,000.00</u>	<u>34,000.00</u>
OTAL	\$ 45,200.00	\$ 51,900.00	\$ 46,800.00	\$ 48,400.00

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ANNEX 3

DISTRIBUTION OF PDDYNAMIC PUBLICATIONS 1 April 1974-31 March 1975

METHOD OF DISTRIBUTION	SUCHASNIST (Contemporary)	UKRAINS' KYI SAMOSTIYNYK (UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENT)	INFORMATION BULLETIN (Letter Size Light Weight)	BOOKS	TOTALS
Hand carried directly to Soviet Union by legal travelers	178	157	300	265	900
Hand carried to East Europe, then hand carried by EE contact to USSR	365	235	330	925	1,855
Hand carried to East Europe, then mailed by EE contact to USSR	740	385	1,725	415	3,265
Mailed directly to USSR from West Europe, Canada, U.S.A., Australia	1,580	1,145	7,895	1,345	11,965
Special methods: concealed in food and clothing parcels; infiltration by students using mini-buses; port distribution	635	245	590	625	2,095
Personal distribution to Soviets traveling or stationed in West	435	250	650	365	1,700
TOTAL DISTRIBUTION TO TARGET	3,933	2,417	10,490	3,940	21,780
Sales and subscriptions in West	13,515	10,440	--	4,860	28,815
Complimentary and exchange copies in West	1,800	1,645	--	--	3,445

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ANNEX 4

List of Projected Books for the Period April 1, 1975--March 31, 1976

1. Volodymyr Swidzinskyj, Medobir (Honey Hills). A collection of poems by a Ukrainian author who was burned alive in Kharkov in the summer of 1941 by the KGB. This is the only existing copy of his poetry. Attempts by some Soviet Ukrainian poets to have Swidzinskyj's name reinstated in Ukrainian literature have been suppressed by the authorities.
2. Zvernennya politychnykh viazniv SSSR /Petitions of Political Prisoners in the USSR/.
3. Roman Kupchinsky, ed., Natsionalnyi vopros. dokumenty /The Nationality Question in the USSR. Documents/. A collection of samizdat documents coming from non-Russian and Russian sources. Russian language.
4. Ivan Dzyuba, Literaturni eseyi /Essays on Literature/. A selection of literary essays published in samizdat and in the Soviet press.
5. Yuriy Lawrynenko, Na pochatkakh vidrodzhennya /At the Threshold of the Rebirth/. A political biography of Vasyl Karazyn, a prominent Ukrainian leader of the 19th century.
6. Oleksander Semenenko, Kharkiv, kharkiv... /Memoirs of a prominent Ukrainian civic leader from Kharkov covering the 1920's and 30's in the Soviet Ukraine/.
7. Ivan Dmytruk, Spomyny voyaka UPA /Memoirs of a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army/.
8. Yuriy Soloviy, Narysy z mystetstva /Essays on Art/.
9. Ivan Maystrenko, Istoriya KPU /The History of the Ukrainian Communist Party/.